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## ALBANIA

### PARTY SPIRIT, NATIONAL CHARACTER OF ARTS, LITERATURE

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 10, Oct 76, pp 49-59

[Article by Dalan Shaplllo: "Partisanship and National Character Underlie Our Literature and Arts"]

[Text] In the present situation of the sharpening of the ideological struggle in all fields, and hence also in that of esthetic thought and creative practice, a thoroughly profound knowledge of the main principles of socialist realism, faithful enforcement of their requirements, defense of those principles with theoretical and practical arguments against any deformation, and their enrichment with new experience, and creative activity and ideological struggle in this field constitute an important task for us. We can perform this task by resting firmly upon the ideology and principles of Marxist-Leninist esthetics, and on our party's teachings on these matters, and by following the creative path of literature and the arts in our country, their now-rich experience, and the struggle now being waged in the world between socialist realism and progressive, democratic literature and art on the one hand and the decadence and manifold deformations of reality in bourgeois-revisionist literature and art on the other hand. In this struggle, our literature and art, with their notable achievements, with their sound socialist content and popular and national character, stand face to face with bourgeois-revisionist literature and art, rising as a barricade against them. Our literature and art also have with them in this fight all those progressive and socialist tendencies which are to be found in the literature and art of freedom-loving oppressed people, of those who rise up against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and all reaction to preserve the independence of their culture and the right to develop it.

Under the leadership of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, resting upon the principles of Marxist-Leninist esthetics, our literature and art proceed from the principle of proletarian partisanship, which underlies the method of socialist realism. The various genres of works among the best achievements, such as the novel, poetry, composition and portrait painting, sculpture, the opera, the ballet, song, instrumental music, the theater and film --all our socialist art and culture, are grounded on communist partisanship.

This principle is no abstract slogan or thesis. It enters deeply into and is embodied in the works, determining their atmosphere, the principal action and the ideological problems raised in them in the language of art. Leavened with concrete vital material, with a thorough, not a superficial, knowledge of reality, the party spirit in a work of art also throws light on the course of the characters, on the discovery and correct solution of contradictions. Communist partisanship is connected with party leadership in literature and art. It is demonstrated by the position of the creator, his philosophical stand, a real knowledge of social phenomena in the process of their class development and not by a cold and "neutral" objectivism behind which is hidden the idea of compromise or submission to the bourgeoisie.

The poisoned arrows of both the bourgeois theoreticians and the revisionist ones--though some of the latter attempt to cover up with demagogic phrases --have been and are aimed precisely at the principle of partisanship, which they call an "antiquated" demand, "excessive discipline" for literature and art, which, according to them, must be "free" from everything. The revisionist esthetes, even when they accept the principle of partisanship for appearance's sake, endeavor to divest it of its essence, of the problem of the class struggle, and convert it into a wholly negative, revisionist "partisanship" in order to serve the new bourgeoisie and its policy. Revisionist esthetes strive to distort the views of the Marxist-Leninist classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, interpreting them in a one-sided, antidialectic manner, trying to separate Stalin from Lenin for example, or terming the Leninist view of partisanship in literature and art downright antiquated.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us to study with great care the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist classics on the problems of literature and the arts, as well as their thoughts about individual authors. "Our great classic authors," he emphasizes, "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in their colossal works have also treated the problems of literature and the arts. The revisionists and Trotskyites try to minimize this great contribution of the classics. They do so for the purpose of opening up a wide field for their putridities of all sorts that they unleash in torrents from the four corners of the earth (Enver Hoxha, "Writers and Artists Are Helpers of the Party in the Communist Education of Our People," p 21).

Marx and Lenin, in many works in which they have treated problems of superstructure, but also in individual letters, such as those addressed to Mina Kautskiy, Margarita Harkness or Ferdinand Lasalle and on other occasions, have spoken of a tendency in literature and art, of an attitude which accords with the world outlook of the working class when it was a matter of the new art that was just being born. Since the time of the tragedies of Aeschylus down to Heine, Goethe, Hugo and many others, they have seen a long process of artistic creation as a direct or indirect expression of the class struggle in society, of the taking of a specific side. They have forcefully defended tendentiousness in literature and art, and have criticized authors who have taken now democratic, now aristocratic positions, or poets who have

not stood loyal to the end to party and working class positions. They have emphasized the class character of literature and art, the necessary social-historical conditioning of artistic work, its dependence upon social development. The literature and art of the proletariat were then taking their first steps, but they represented a powerful tendency that would become very important in the process of the development of world literature and art.

The teachings of Marx and Engels, as well as the whole experience in the development of literature and art through the centuries, testify amply to the maintenance of a definite support, a class tendentiousness, for the defense of definite class interests. Even when a work is very complex and written in the form of a fable or imagining remote places created by fantasy, the dreams and interests of a definite class always underlie it. However much the creators and the esthetes representing various "isms" have sought and are seeking to hid this class dependence by the way in which they split hairs, it is quite obvious that it cannot be covered up.

Speaking of today's currents indicating the rottenness of the bourgeois culture at the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "New schools and minischools resembling the innumerable religious sects and heresies are emerging every day. However, they have a common philosophical base, which is idealism with all the refinements of the latter. It is also the essence of those currents which at first sight appear allegedly as leftist radical protests against bourgeois official society, against its culture and morality" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1972-1973, p 320). This thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha's expounds the essence of a good many of today's currents, which starting with some anarchistic and petty-bourgeois protests that are in fact desperate and pessimistic, ultimately preach compromise, declaring themselves powerless to change anything, and the individual alienated from society. These individualistic and petty-bourgeois pretexts also bring out their esthetics, which in other forms revert to the old slogan of "art for art's sake," abstractionism, absurdity, existentialism and other "isms." Today too, in a more camouflaged way, we have to do with the same relationship of the artist to bourgeois society as at the time that Lenin spoke of the dependence upon "the money bag," upon capital.

The principle of proletarian partisanship, which Lenin clearly formulated in 1905 in his article "The Organization of the Party and the Literature of the Party," have been trampled under foot by today's Soviet revisionists and other revisionists. This has been done for several decades in succession by the revisionists in policy and in esthetics, such as Lukac, Fischer and Garodi. It has been and is being done in practice by the Soviet writers who create works while holding positions entirely opposite to communist partisanship and the revolution--such as Sholokhov, Ehrenburg, Tvardovskiy, Simonov, Yevtushenko and many others--who have tried to falsify history, the revolutionary period, to throw mud on the figure of Stalin and open the way, under the direction of the revisionist clique, to all the variants of today's bourgeois art. Thus, today's Soviet literature is dominated by a chauvinist spirit, by the aim to legitimize the expansionist policy of

social-imperialism and to stultify the minds of people with all kinds of sugar pills that have poison inside them, to distract people's attention from the great social problems. The communist revolutionary tendentiousness that existed in the times of Gorkiy and Mayakovskiy has given way to noisy, bourgeois superpower tendentiousness, or to the filth of decadence, where events are plunged into a labyrinth of social and moral contradictions and dark fatalistic and pacifistic feelings are cultivated. Today's revisionist literature is contrary to that literature of which Lenin spoke in 1905 when he said: "It will be a free literature because there will be no greed or careerism, but the idea of socialism and sympathy for the workers, who will continually cause new forces to enter their ranks. It will be a free literature because it will not serve the sated heroine or the 'tens of thousands of persons in the upper stratum' who suffer from boredom and too much fat, but the millions and tens of millions of workers who are the flower of their country, its strength, its future" (V. I. Lenin, "Works", vol 10, p 38). Today it is precisely "greed" and "careerism," the application of the policy of the new bourgeoisie, that dominate Soviet literature and art.

Our literature and art of socialist realism come to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party with a rich record of successes. Under the party's continual leadership and thanks to the ceaseless care also shown for them by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our literature and art of socialist realism have developed greatly in breadth and depth and, in the fire of the sharp class struggle led by the party, have acquired great Marxist-Leninist ideological artistic maturity. Applying the principle of communist partisanship, our literature and art have echoed the struggle and self-sacrificing work of the popular masses and have reflected and elevated them to an art with proletarian tendentiousness, and this has also given them a pronounced popular and national character that has made them a powerful weapon in the party's hands in its all-around work of esthetic and revolutionary education of the masses.

The principle of communist partisanship is found embodied in our works, in their principal aspects: as an ideal of socialism and communism, as a social-esthetic ideal setting in motion the main thought and purpose of the work; as a reflection of the class struggle and the viewing of reality through the eyes of the working class, the most advanced class of society; as a revolutionary prospect which, based on concrete reality, shows the historical development, the dynamics of phenomena and the future. These aspects of partisanship have been crystallizing and deepening, and are finding a harmonious development within artistic work, which also bespeaks the maturity and the most complete harmonization of thought in our activity. Communist partisanship was brought to life in the beginnings of our new art, which blazed the trail with the poem "The Epic of the National Front" by Sh. Musaraj, which also takes a class attitude by unmasking the traitors from the upper classes and in which the popular spirit stands out by virtue of the good sense and wise words of the people's representative. It continues in such poems as "Prishtina" by Ll. Siliqi, in which the pathos of the party is evident; in other later poems such as "Why These Mountains Are Remembered" by I. Kadare,



or "Mother Albania" by D. Agolli, "Bloody Alarms" by F. Arapi and in many other works, down to the creations of the youngest. The same spirit is noted in the other fields of the arts, such as in the films "The Commissar of Light," "At the Beginning of Summer" and many others.

Communist partisanship, the principle that proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist world, outlook and from the reality of our society, also serves for orientation in reflecting the relationship between the social forces in art, in the choice of the principal hero in literature and art, who must be from the ranks of the masses of the people and stand in the center of the work, as a worthy representative of those masses which form the main motive force of society, with clear philosophical concepts and with attitudes and actions that express a well defined class position. The practice of communist partisanship, of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, serves as orientation for every work, whatever kind of theme it may have, including historical ones, since it has to do with the exposition of the most advanced ideal of the times seen in the light of actuality, with the correct reflection of the class struggle and the underscoring of the most advanced class of those times, but also without disregarding their limitations, which means that "happy solutions" must not be given everywhere and the great popular tragedies of the past forgotten. Our mature historical works take note of these factors but more needs to be done to intermingle the aspects and give prominence to the concrete representative of the working masses. As examples of the realization of a historical theme we may take, among others, "The Monument of Independence" in Vlore, the work of K. Rama, Sh. Haderi and M. Ihrami, which, enforcing the injunctions of Comrade Enver Hoxha in his letter to those sculptors, clearly conveys the atmosphere of the times and the historical perspective, all in a unity of thought and art.

Our literature and arts have always been oriented, in all phases of their development, by the party's teachings synthesized in many of its documents, as well as in those dealing with ideological problems connected with this field of activity. Thus, in the decision of the party Central Committee of June 1961 on literature and the arts, in Comrade Enver Hoxha's meeting with writers and artists in the same year, in the 15th plenum of the party Central Committee held in 1965, at the 17th Conference of the Party in Tirana in 1968, at the 5th and 6th congresses of the Labor Party of Albania, and especially in the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee held in 1973 and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of 20 December 1974 to the Secretariat of the party Central Committee, and on other occasions, the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always laid emphasis on the problems of partisanship, the popular and national character, on the problems of preserving the ideological purity of literature and the arts and of defending the principles of socialist realism.

The party has always oriented and encouraged creators. It has likewise pointed out that, in the field of literature and the arts too, development takes place through sharp class struggle against alien influences resulting

from hostile internal and external ideological pressure. The trunk of our literature and arts has stood firmly on this base, and has developed soundly. But, as emphasized in the Fourth Plenum of the party Central Committee, there have also been alien manifestations in particular works. Sound literary and artistic opinion and our whole social opinion have risen up to combat liberal attitudes, debates have been held, hard blows have been struck at alien views, which have appeared primarily in the departure from the principle of proletarian partisanship. As a consequence of this ideological struggle, under the party's leadership, hard blows have been struck at bourgeois-revisionist distortions, the inciters and disseminators of alien modernistic trends, the enemies of the party and the people, Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja; a fight has been waged against manifestations of anti-heroism, the distorted interpretations of contradictions, symbolism and conventionalism in individual works in certain fields of the arts, such as theater, poetry and painting; a struggle has been carried on against modernism in substance, connected with the underscoring of a narrow and sickly intimacy, with the isolation of psychological analyses from profound class and social analyses, with the choice of petty themes, as well as modernism in form, manifested by hermetic elements, by perverted figures and by the getting away from man and into animations. As a result, the principle of proletarian partisanship and the national character of our art have been strengthened; substance has taken on a deeper meaning, carrying forward the sound traditions, and form has become clearer, more popular, preserving the beauty and expressiveness of the Albanian language.

But in spite of the great achievements appearing in our literature and art, both in quantity and in quality, and in spite of the strengthening of communist partisanship in them, it cannot be stated that everything has been accomplished, and still less must we be filled with complacency, with euphoria, or weaken our ideological vigilance and rest on our laurels. It is a part of dialectic materialism for us to proceed from the Marxist-Leninist philosophical concept of movement and development through the conflict between opposites, from the concept of the class struggle--which continues to be sharp, as demonstrated to us also by the creative literary-artistic practice in recent times. It is true and a very positive fact that the overwhelming majority of literary-artistic works manifest a sound spirit. But neither has there been a lack of published or unpublished writings, or creations of various other kinds, as in music and the representative arts, in which one notes manifestations of failure to apply communist partisanship to the proper depth, manifestations that show that some authors interpret this principle superficially and do not bear it in mind sufficiently in their creativity. Allegedly in the name of realism, the portrayal of difficulties, there are cases where reality is darkened and the individual is not placed in the proper relation to society--to the point where some unpublished works have even revealed Freudian views on the determinability of a character instead of a social analysis and the correct choice which our life offers. Negative types must absolutely be made the object of reflection in order to combat them and show the social manifestations which favor them and want to preserve them, but always from the party's viewpoint, from

correct revolutionary positions, contrasting with them the positive types which must predominate and set the tone for the work, as direct exponents of the party's ideals. There are also cases where the relationship between the classes is not brought out properly in some dramas, the solidarity between the working class and the stratum of the popular intelligentsia is not reflected adequately, the relations of the leadership of the local party organization with the masses are not shown truthfully, and errors and weaknesses are not motivated from the social-political viewpoint, but somewhat sentimentally and in a superficial manner.

In laying stress on the fight against liberalism in connection with the application of the principle of partisanship, we must not forget to combat at the same time the manifestations of vulgarism in interpreting and applying that principle. There are cases where partisanship has been interpreted in a superficial manner by some author: this important principle cannot be expressed in sufficient depth by creating some anemic personages without flesh or blood who do not launch deep ideas and characters that are agitative. Sometimes, too, the remarks about a work are made according to certain patterns without going deeply into it, and a thematic uniformity is sought without understanding that partisanship is a world outlook and not a pattern; that it is a revolutionary tendency which much pervade the work from beginning to end and, among other things, presupposes a variety of themes, which means that, along with themes on major problems, of which we have great need, we must also write about family homes, about our nature and about pure love, but naturally not with anachronisms or sentimentalisms as of yore or from liberal positions. The philosophical principle lies in the very structure of a work, in its profound conception, and not in superficial declarations.

The problem of the popular and national character of our literature and art is an important theoretical and practical one, relating directly to communist partisanship. Democratic, popular national art has existed in all times; and we respect this tradition. But the democratic, popular and national character of the literature and art of socialist realism has a qualitative difference, for it is communist partisanship that sets its stamp upon them. This means that, for the first time in the history of literature and art, the masses become the true hero; that the popular movement is viewed from the position of the most advanced class, the working class, from the positions of its party whereby the literature and the art of socialist realism attain the highest level of their democratic popular character.

Our literature and arts have a pronounced spirit, inheriting the popular and democratic traits of Naimi, De Rada, Cajupi, Noli, Mjeda, Migheni, and so forth, and developing them to a qualitatively new level. Thus, such novels as "The Dead River" by J. Xaxa, "They Were Not Alone" by S. Spase, "Commissar Memo" by D. Agolli, "Before Dawn" by Sh. Musaraj, "The Morass" by F. Gjata, "The General of the Dead Army" by I. Kdareja and a good many others have a clear popular spirit in their different styles of writing.

There was a time when there were debates, fictitious to a certain extent, as to which work was more popular than others; and it turned out that this was determined rather by the criterion of ability to communicate alone. Naturally, this is a necessary feature, but it does not alone determine the popular spirit of a work. This is determined, first, by the theme and problems important for the history of a people covered by a work; second, by the angle of vision, by the positions in defense of the people's interests; and, third, by the ability to communicate that must exist. We have works that embody these aspects beautifully, but we also have others that leave something to be desired. A work has to be seen in its fundamental aspect in order to understand its popular, democratic and national substance; but, on the other hand, the ability to communicate cannot be neglected either, for our art is created for the masses and not for a "select" elite as in the bourgeois countries.

Our literature and art, especially certain individual genres, have much to do to reflect the masses as the motive force of history, to portray correctly the relationship of the masses to the hero and to see him with a dialectic eye, with historic verity and in the light of present problems. This requires thorough study of theory, of life and a knowledge of the epoch and a broad philosophical outlook.

We have works in various genres which treat this aspect well, and this often determines the strength and innovativeness of those works. Literature and the arts operate with concrete individualized personages. But in the literature and arts of socialist realism their reflection is being meshed more and more with mass scenes, with the representation of popular enthusiasm. Fundamental in this problem is the Marxist-Leninist philosophical attitude toward the role of the masses in history. This attitude must then lead to a correct interpretation.

In spite of the achievements in this respect, still more can and must be done to reflect the activity of the masses, especially by such genres as the novel, composition, sculpture or monumental painting, and opera and the ballet. But, on the other hand, this does not at all mean that we should simply stick with a general and amorphous representation of the masses; but we should construct concrete characters and heroes tied to the masses that have produced them, while the mass movements must be viewed more deeply from the class standpoint, without falling into futile idealizations.

Under the conditions of the hegemonistic aims of the superpowers and their ideological and cultural aggression, with their desire to impose themselves upon the peoples with their slogans of cosmopolitanism or widespread "internationalism," concealing the chauvinism and imperiousness of a great power such as Soviet social-imperialism is--under these circumstances it becomes still more necessary to defend the national characteristics of culture and art. In defending their national culture, many peoples, especially the small ones simultaneously defend their independence and face up to foreign aggression. Speaking of this problem at the Fourth Plenum of the party Central

Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "Under these conditions it becomes still more imperative for us to fight to preserve the national characteristics of art, the cultural wealth of our people" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1972-1973," p 319).

The problem of the national character arises today with great force for the reasons which we have stated, to withstand the bourgeois-revisionist ideological and cultural aggression, as well as for reasons connected with the very development of our literature and arts. The rise of new problems, the development of national socialist reality, the enrichment of the genres, the substance and the forms of reflection, the need to review the national past from today's positions--these and other motives likewise prompt us to study the national character and to bear it always in mind. On the world plane too, this problem is arising more today, as an expression of the tendency of the peoples and nations to reaffirm themselves and their cultures.

The national character of literature and the arts is connected with the birth of a nation, with the formation of the spiritual constitution of a people. But, as is known, the national elements both in life and psyche and in conscience were born before the formation of nations. We find these in the history of our people, in its folklore and later in its literature and culture, especially in poetry, which has a more ancient tradition.

This problem has been and remains important because the history of peoples, of classes, is connected with the history of nations, and it will always remain acute over the very long period of the existence of nations as a historical necessity. Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have clarified this problem in several documents and speeches, evaluating our tradition and indicating that the essential factor of the socialist revolutionary character of our literature and art communist partisanship, shall be taken in close conjunction with that of the national character.

Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes that when we fight for the national spirit of our literature and art we underscore their "revolutionary and socialist" character. Therefore, these problems are treated as indivisible, and the fundamental things are communist partisanship and revolutionary ideas. But, under our conditions, those of a socialist nation, where we have two friendly classes, the working and rural class and the stratum of the popular intelligentsia, where a national, moral-political unity has been created, there are no contradictions between socialist and national concept--though, understandably, they are not identical. When we say national spirit or character, we have in mind the older tradition, the later and the present one, the peculiarities of substance and form that are typical for our nation and people, which has its own history, crystallized traits and life subject to a continual social and psychological influence. This peculiarity of themes, problems, colors, language, means of expression constitutes that which we call national and which enters into the treasury of world culture. This spirit, grounded on partisanship, implies proletarian internationalism,

which our literature and art have in their ideational substance and express through it, as well as through many themes and problems of this nature which they have taken up.

In our country we have defended and still defend the idea that the national character in literature and art must be seen not only in form, but also in content, since, if we view it in isolation from content, we run the risk of sticking merely to some external requirements, to a superficial coloring, and of forgetting the main thing. It has likewise been emphasized that from the viewpoint of substance the national aspect is determined by the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, by communist partisanship. But neither can we ignore the elements of national form, which give a work the colors and aroma that make it beloved and close to the masses. This problem has been discussed in the literary press and in creative discussions and it may be stated that some conclusions have been reached. But there still remains room for further deepening in both the theoretical and the concrete aspect.

Viewing the socialist and national element in the respect which we have mentioned, where the determining factor is the socialist, partisan attitude, it is quite clear that the national aspect is a necessary component of the content of a work. As is known, the notion of content in a work of art is linked with the vital material, with the themes and problems and with the idea that pervades it. But the choice of a theme or problem cannot but have the national stamp, seen as history and as current actuality. For example, the theme of encirclement, of awaiting the many aggressors with the thrust of the sword and the barrel of the gun, of the heroic and inflexible stand of our people, has been and remains in the ranks of the main themes of our literature and art, as a characteristic of our people and nation. The revolution and the class struggle in our country also have their specifics, which cannot but find their reflection in literature and art as well. The emancipation of women, the concepts of life and death, the customs of hospitality and faithfulness, and so forth, have the national stamp. Of course, all these things do not remain inert and unchangeable. Good customs also evolve. Our people has been characterized through the centuries by the giving and keeping of faith. But now it is no longer subject to the feudal canon laws, under which even an enemy might enter the home and one was obliged to receive him. These customs have assumed a new meaning: they have become and are becoming socialist, preserving whatever was soundest. This naturally has to do with the substance and form of the national traits. It is the duty of our literature and arts to discover and reflect them still more profoundly and beautifully.

The problem of form is related to the concrete embodiment of these elements in a work by means of language, coloring and other means of expression, portrayal of temperament, and so forth. In general, our literature is not "subdued" and more or less "cold," like some other literatures. It has much sensitivity; it is pervaded by a kind of poetry and romanticism of our times. We like lively, dynamic subjects, now and then with strong and

dramatic contrasts, for it expresses the temperament and dynamics of our life. We love language with vivid colors, sharp and individualized dialog, implying different manners and styles.

Still more notable advances in forming the national character of our literature and art have been made since the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee. The folklore and spiritual wealth of the people have been best exploited in literary works and in the representative arts, as well as in musical works such as those of C. Zadeja, T. Dajia, F. Ithraimi, N. Zoraqi, T. Harapi, P. Gaci, and others, in which the national intonation is clearly felt; and this gives their creations a special beauty.

We have combated and continue to combat the departures from the national spirit which were hit especially in the fourth plenum, but have not fully disappeared even today. There have been discussions about a more pronounced national representation in art, as in choreography and architecture. Poetry, music, painting, and so forth, have also been spoken of in this regard. The problem is a timely one, and vigilance must not be relaxed, but sharpened, since the class struggle continues and alien influences may present themselves in various forms.

Alien influences in this field are based on an erroneous notion, with cosmopolitan nuances, about the national character of literature and the arts. Building on our reality, on the national characteristics, on the great wealth of our popular creativity, on our folklore, insures a correct understanding and treatment of this problem. Ground favorable to the departure from the national spirit may be created by tastes alien to our esthetics, by feelings of submission to the alien reactionary and modernist, by underestimation of the national culture which may be disseminated by enemy or ideologically uninstructed elements. We must apply the injunction of Comrade Enver Hoxha that we must be neither xenomanes nor xenophobes, but must maintain a dialectic attitude toward the alien.

One is also led to depart from the correct conception of the national by ignorance or underestimation of the national cultural tradition, of folklore, both past tradition and--still more--the new socialist tradition. Past tradition must be valued for all its values and beauty, but must be treated in a critical, not a mechanical, manner. Euphoric attitudes that idealize tradition and folklore are also harmful. They must be viewed always without isolation from the social conditions and philosophical concepts of the times in which they were created, from the evolution which they have undergone, and there must always be appreciation of what is positive for today. A class conception of tradition, within the principle of historicism and present requirements, should lead to correct attitudes. There is no reason for us to take, for example, an old melody that has a moral class content alien to us, for example a religious melody, and dress it with new words, when it is known that the melody, the musical motif, is primarily what gives the content of the music. Likewise harmful is the kind of eclecticism in the exploitation of tradition, in the dance, that is

expressed whenever quite different motifs not organically tied together are joined indiscriminately; and this becomes even more harmful when we have a grafting of our dances with foreign ones. The same thing may be said of poetry in some cases when it leans indiscriminately toward foreign rhythm.

A distinction must be made between preservation of the artistic values of the people as something authentic, a testimony from a specific time, and today's living creativity of the people, which serves as spiritual, esthetic nourishment. And this creativity must always be directed toward and based on the national tradition, but we should never forget that it is a spiritual product of socialism and, as such, it will bear the seal of today, it will evolve, as shown by some dances with men and women, choral songs mingled with popular songs, by a more contemporary conception of colors in dress, and so on. All these things should be borne in mind for a successful development of our cultivated, native creativity with a national spirit.

The fight to deepen proletarian partisanship and the popular and national character of our socialist art is a continuous duty related to the further development of our literature and arts of socialist realism in accordance with the requirements of the times and to the application of the injunctions of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in this important field of activity for the communist education of the masses.

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## ALBANIA

### UNIFYING ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC FRONT HAILED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 10, Oct 76, pp 67-73

[Article by Khorxhi Robo: "The Unity of the People Is the Mainstay of Our Strength in Marching Ever Forward"]

[Text] The revolutionary atmosphere created throughout the country in favor of going with full hands and heads held high to the great jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress has also animated the life of the Democratic Front organizations. Under the leadership of the party organizations, they have worked and are working to greet those important events with an iron unity with the party on the part of the people and the Democratic Front, with an all-around mobilization of their members to achieve great results in all fields of life and to make our socialist fatherland as rich and strong as possible.

The organization of the Democratic Front of Albania, this political combat union of our people, founded by the party 34 years ago, with a clear program of organization and action, has played a great role ever since the years of the War of National Liberation to unify the people in the fight against the invaders and traitors and enforce the party's program, and became one of the important factors in the victory over the enemy, for the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's rule. And today the basic political task of the Democratic Front of Albania is to strengthen and continually steel the unity of the people and the Democratic Front with the party in order to enforce its program and line of socialist construction, since this unit forms the main base of support for our ever-forward march, as well as for coping with any threat to the country and our socialist political and social system.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that the mainstay of our strength is the unity of the people. "This unity," he emphasizes, "must be based on a correct understanding of the party line by the people. We must never tire of explaining to the masses the party's policy, that is, propagandizing that policy widely. Of course, propaganda is always good and never excessive, but the people must see that the policy of the party and the people's

government is carried out successfully in practice; otherwise they will not be easily persuaded. And we are striving for a real and full persuasion, not a false or halfway one, for only in this way will true, unbreakable unity be insured.

In striving to apply correctly the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Democratic Front organizations at all levels of authority, together with the other mass organizations, have done and are doing a great job of making it clear to the masses of the people why we have needed and still need iron unity, where it is based and why we must continuously defend and strengthen it.

The great political, economic and social transformations which have taken place in our country under the party's leadership during these 32 years of the people's rule objectively exert their great influence in increasing and strengthening the unity of the people. But this does not mean that we should leave the matter to spontaneous development; and still less does it mean that we should slip into complacency and let ourselves be lulled to sleep. A great role in preserving, strengthening and continually steeling the unity of our people and the Democratic Front with the party has been and is being played by the subjective factor, the all-around educational work that the party has done and is doing, and, within this framework, all the activity of the Front organizations built on the basis of the party's orientations. This activity is aimed at preserving and strengthening the political and economic stability which we have created, continually perfecting socialist relations in production, broadening and deepening socialist democracy in all fields, and strengthening and defending the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is based, as always, on the fighting alliance of the working class with the working peasants. The further strengthening of this alliance is an important direction of the activity of the Front organizations, for, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, it is the base of bases, the nucleus of the United Front.

This unity is growing and becoming stronger on the basis of the party's orientations. A concrete expression of this is the unanimous approval without reservation of the party's correct Marxist-Leninist line by all our working people, as we see in all sectors of activity where people are working and fighting for the construction of socialism, for an increase in production and for the development of culture. This has been noted especially in the great political drives, such as the occasions of various elections--in which the Democratic Front candidates have generally received one hundred percent of the votes--as well as in other great mass movements organized in all fields, both political-ideological and socio-economic. Unity is also expressed in the great socialist patriotism that characterizes our people in performing defense tasks, considering that duty to be above all others; and so forth.

But the struggle to preserve, strengthen and further anneal and moral-political unity of our people and the Front with the party is an uninterrupted

and continuous process, since that unity is not and cannot be achieved once and for all. It has a direct mutual connection with the correct development of the class struggle against everything alien that hampers the development, progress and construction of socialism. And the class struggle continues and will continue for a long time. Therefore, the problem of preserving, strengthening and steeling the unity of the people has stood, is standing and will stand for a long time in the future on the agenda of the Democratic Front organizations as their fundamental political task. Therefore the Front has insisted on understanding thoroughly in theory and applying well in practice the close dialectic connection between the uninterrupted and correct development of the class struggle for the correct resolution of the contradictions which exist or arise in the process of that struggle and our forward march on the one hand, and the strengthening of the unity of the people and the Front with the party on the other.

In general, the Front organizations have worked and are working better every day to learn the contradictions and resolve them correctly, to apply the party line, to mobilize the workers and bring about their broad participation in the performance of the tasks, whether ideopolitical and social or economic or defense-related, viewing this as the principal real way to strengthen the unity of the people and the Front with the party. However, we cannot say that this problem is always viewed and treated entirely from this point of view. There are still workers---indeed, cadres too---who harbor metaphysical concepts about it, who do not have clear and profound ideas about the interdependence unity and the class struggle, who see the achievements thus far in strengthening the unity of the people and the Front with the party as something given once and for all. Hence, there are also cases of manifestations of complacency, of boasting that "with this degree of unity that we have created, the enemy cannot do anything to us," as well as case of concealment of shortcomings, failure to rise up in force against erroneous attitudes---allegedly because they do not want them to become a cause of "spoiling the healthy atmosphere"---of "disrupting unity" (!), and so on. The task of the Front organizations is for us to resolutely combat every such concept and erroneous attitude, which weakens revolutionary vigilance, solicitude and uninterrupted activity in preserving and annealing the unity of the people in the fire of the class struggle to enforce the party's line and program.

On the basis of the party's orientation, a good job has been done by the Front organizations during the great popular discussion conducted on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. Good work has also been done during the other popular discussion regarding the drafting of the new 5-year plan, as well as in the discussion of the draft directives of the seventh party congress on the sixth 5-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Republic of Albania for 1976-1980. The experience gained in such big drives has also been borne in mind in the seminars organized this year by the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania in the districts of Gjirokaster and Shkoder, which dealt with

with problems of the work of the Front organizations in the mountain regions in analyzing and applying the orientations of the sixth party congress so that the farm cooperatives in those regions too might in a short time become advanced farms with high yields.

All these actions, undertaken on the basis of well organized work and a proper political evaluation of the questions, have been accompanied by concrete results in all fields of life. They also solidify and materialize the work of the Democratic Front organizations in propagandizing the party's line and directives and mobilizing the masses to put them into practice. However, much still remains to be done in the fight against manifestations which restrict the work of the Front organizations in this field to those cases where big political or economic drives are undertaken, such, for example, as the big campaigns for elections to various organs of the state government or discussions of the plan for economic and cultural development; and so forth. It is necessary to stop this practice because it not only obstructs the energetic and continued action of the Front organizations--resulting in the anemic life and activity of a good many Front organs and organizations--but also because the false impression is created that the work of explaining and applying the party line and policy is a matter of campaigns, that the Front organizations "can and should do it only in special cases," "in discussions and big meetings."

Comrade Enver Hoxha has warned: "The party line and policy must be instituted everywhere, with regard to work, to people, to their opinions and actions. Therefore the correct policy of the party must prevail, must lead and clarify alike in the economy, in matters of defense, and in matters of education and culture. This needs to be made clear. People should go deeply into it, study with the greatest care Marxism-Leninism and our party's experience and bear them in mind in their work, their life, their daily struggle. Upon such work, upon such a correct understanding and application of the party line depend the existence and annealing of the unity of the people with the party, the successful construction of socialism, and its defense against the dangerous assaults of enemies, foreign and domestic."

In the fight to understand and insure correct, full and consistent application of the party line, which forms the basis of the existence, preservation and continual strengthening of the unity of the people and the Front with the party, special care and attention from the viewpoint of the method of work are merited by the coordination of the activity of all the mass organizations and the other organizations of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations. The purpose is to insure, through this coordination and collaboration, the concentration of forces in solving the most important problems, to eliminate unnecessary duplications in operations, and to have each of those organizations and organisms perform with complete responsibility and as well as possible the tasks incumbent upon them within the framework of the undertaking of joint drives, as well as in accordance with the specifics of their work.

Striving to put into effect the party's orders, they have exerted themselves, there have been improvements, and results have been obtained in achieving this coordination of forces and collaboration among the mass organizations.

Of the same character, from the viewpoint of the method of work, is the ideological drive undertaken lately by all the mass organizations within the framework of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress, which is aimed at "enforcing everywhere and at all times the party's policy and directives and the norms of communist morality, and to see to it that everyone holds a revolutionary class attitude in every case and concerning every problem." However, a good deal still remains to be done in this field to perfect the coordination of activity between the mass organizations and the other organizations of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, as there have not infrequently also been formalism, lack of continuity, and so forth.

The performance of intensive political-educational and organizational work to involve the working masses most actively in government, as well as for systematic and effective control by them over the activity of the elected organs and their apparatuses, constitutes one of the most important and permanent tasks in the activity of the Democratic Front organizations. But this matter is an equally important and permanent task for the government organs too. Hence, this remains one of the fields of permanent coordination and collaboration by the Democratic Front organs and organizations with the government organs--indeed, also with all the other mass organizations. The objective is to have a common concern and a coordinated action in stimulating, organizing and implementing the systematic and effective rendering of accounts to the masses by the government organs and their administrative, economic and other apparatuses, the exercise of the broadest and most effective possible control by the masses, in the most varied forms, over the activity of the persons elected or appointed to those organs and apparatuses, to the end that they serve the people faithfully, on the basis of the party's decisions and directives, be just, well-behaved and correct, combat favoritism and animosity, maintain a principled attitude and have a spirit of sacrifice.

Rich experience has now been gathered in this respect. Thus, good organization of the work on the basis of collaboration, has resulted in the meetings of deputies and people's councilmen with the voters, especially during the electoral campaigns, but also in other cases, often turning into live contacts, in which affairs and people have been discussed in a revolutionary class spirit and valuable proposals have been made for the performance of tasks by relying on our own forces. Also useful and fruitful have been the analyses made this year at the special meetings of the district people's councils, in which it was examined how the complaints, requests and statements of the citizens have been resolved; likewise the organization of meetings of councilmen with voters on concrete matters, as has been done in the districts of Gjirokastra, Librazhd, Korce, Kruje, and so forth, where they discussed the knowledge and application of socialist legality, the preservation and administration of property, construction, commercial and public-utility services, and so on. These have served to improve the work of the

government and economic organs in the service of the people, by involving the masses of the people themselves in the most correct solution of the questions raised.

In further strengthening and steeling the unity of our people and the Front with the party, the ideological front of the class struggle, being the most complex and difficult, has been and continues to be one of the broadest fields of cooperation and collaboration of the mass organizations and all the organisms of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the party organs and organizations.

Practice has shown that the class enemy, in his fight against socialism, attempts primarily to nurture ideological confusion in people's heads, as a condition for causing their degenerations; and wherever he finds a chance he penetrates in a way to create disruption. Aided also by imperialist-revisionist ideological pressure, he seeks to spread the bourgeois-revisionist way of life--degenerate foreign fashions and music, bourgeois egoism, envy, parasitism--to keep alive the old backward customs, and so forth. Thus, the foreign enemy front intermingles and merges into the internal enemy front. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have continually made it clear to us that to resist and crush the enemy's assaults in this field and to anneal our new man with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the Marxist-Leninist scientific materialistic world outlook, with a high degree of revolutionary class consciousness, we have to create and regularly operate our united front for the activity of all the various organizations and organisms under the party's leadership.

The Democratic Front organizations, under the leadership of the party organizations and in coordination with the other mass organizations, have constantly waged a hard fight against concepts, attitudes and manifestations of alien ideology, against both those which we inherit from the past and the influences of today's bourgeois-revisionist ideology. And it is a fact that a good many of those concepts and manifestations have been dealt powerful blows, and so the sphere of their action has been continually narrowing. But it is likewise a fact that neither has there been any lack of cases in which such manifestations, due to the weakness of our work, rear their heads from time to time. It is true, for example, that in the fight against backward customs and religious beliefs we have had great successes, but it is equally true that wherever there are complacency, euphoria and carelessness, one notes cases of the revival of backward customs and religious beliefs in the most varied forms.

The party teaches us, and life has shown, that ideological class battles are not won by careless attitudes toward concepts and practices alien to our ideology, even when the manifestations of them appear "small" and "unimportant," but by remaining ever vigilant and fighting them hard, step by step, in order to liquidate them and block their revival. This contributes, among other things, to the strengthening and annealing of our unity

by daily creating therefore an ever sounder Marxist-Leninist ideological base. Also to be viewed and treated from this viewpoint is the class struggle against every manifestation of controversy, disagreement or spite, which, however limited and confined to so-called "unimportant" and "ordinary" matters, have a bad influence in one way or another on the great political cause of strengthening the unity of the people.

It always remains a task for the Democratic Front organizations to concern themselves seriously with these problems, to find the sources of disagreements, disputes and malice, to prevent or eliminate them, since, even when they seem small and unimportant, they contain the seed of disruption and may sometimes lead to serious consequences unless caught and liquidated. "Our party's experience," Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "has confirmed to us that big divergences result from little disagreements." Some do not attach importance to these little disagreements, underestimate them, resolve them wrongly, sometimes administratively...."

Naturally, thanks to the all-around work that has been and is being done, particularly by the Front organizations, in this field, on the basis of the party's correct orientation and under the leadership of its organizations, the progress has been conspicuous. A spirit of solidarity, of love and mutual assistance prevails among us. Cases of disputes and spitefulness are becoming ever fewer in number and less sharp in character. This is because the old economic and social base of disagreements, disputes and malice--namely, private property--has disappeared, and another economic-social base has been created--namely socialist ownership--which unites people and draws them close together.

This is the trend of our development in this field, too. But the mere fact that this is the trend and that the results are notable does not at all mean that we should leave the problem to spontaneous development. We say this because in some cases, in view of the generally healthy reality, we forget or under-estimate particular occurrences and lightheadedly and carelessly believe that things in this area have been fully resolved. And so it has happened that some Front organizations have not shown vigilance in promptly exposing cases of disagreement, dispute and malice, have not evaluated them with the greatest seriousness and have not maintained the proper attitude in preventing them or curing the situation.

The party teaches us that the sources of disagreements, disputes and malice must be discovered on the basis of a thorough class analysis of the situation and concrete cases of them, and must be evaluated ideologically and politically, and it must be thoroughly understood how interested the class enemy is in maintaining them and causing new ones and be demonstrated how far and in what manner he exercises influence in this respect. All the work of clarification, education and persuasion to prevent and combat these cases must be built and carried on upon this basis and be filled with a deep content, stressing their danger and harmfulness--not only for the persons involved in disagreements, quarrels or acts of malice, but also their social danger.

There are many factors affecting the preservation, strengthening and continual annealing of the people and the Front with the party, this powerful weapon in our ever secure forward march. One of them, indeed one of the most important and paramount, is the intensification and qualitative growth of propaganda work, for the leavening of the broad masses more and more every day with the Marxist-Leninist philosophical world outlook, with the morality, determination, courage and purity of the working class, with its ideology, in the heat of the effort to perform the tasks of socialist construction and the strengthening of the defensive capacity of the fatherland.

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EAST GERMANY

AUSTRIA'S CP DENIAL OF GDR DISTURBANCES

Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 4 Feb 77 p 1 AU

[Text] Vienna--[Austrian Communist] Party chairman Franz Muhri, who returned from the GDR on Thursday, declared in comment on the report given prominence in the Thursday issue of ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, central organ of the Austrian Socialist Party--which says among other things: "The GDR People's Army has been put on increased alert because the SED leadership obviously fears disturbances among the populace"--that such alleged disturbances among the GDR people are absolutely out of the question.

Last but not least owing to the great successes achieved in the GDR in the fields of the economy, the development of socialist democracy, and the raising of the material and cultural living standards, successes which every visitor to the GDR can see with his own eyes, party and government are enjoying a growing reputation and the widest approval and support from the people.

In addition, the GDR has also succeeded in consolidating its international position, a fact to which its peace-loving foreign policy has made a decisive contribution. This foreign policy also complies fully and entirely with the interests of the GDR people and, furthermore, the interests of all peace-loving peoples of the continent.

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### PROBLEM OF GYPSY INTEGRATION REEXAMINED

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 17 Dec 76 pp 16-18

[Article by Mihaly Balazs: "With a Uniform View; Notes on the Gypsy Question"]

[Text] 1.

The life of Gypsies in Hungary is characterized today by two fundamental tendencies. On the one hand there is a continual and steady increase in their numbers, and on the other hand there is an increasingly obvious internal transformation. There has been no summing up as to which of the two, the increase in numbers or the social-awareness change, is the stronger. But experience and the results of some research permit the conclusion that the differentiation process more strikingly characterizes the Gypsies than does the increase in numbers. Each year an increasing number start on the road of social integration, breaking or desiring to break with the traditional Gypsy style of life. More and more people are avoiding the use of the word "Gypsy" to mean a uniform community, not only in an analysis of substantive questions but also in thinking and general usage, although it is not always easy to do so; they are using expressions which better reflect reality: "of Gypsy origin" or "those following a traditional Gypsy way of life." The internal differentiation can be felt primarily as a tendency, for one can find progress or backwardness in the lives of individual families and communities depending on where they are in the process of social integration or what help they are receiving for this.

Even the literature on this theme is characterized by a certain duality--mirroring the social position connected with the Gypsy question. Some of the literature, primarily that reporting on research results, analyzes the present situation coolly while pointing out contradictory statements. The literature in this category has the great virtue of judging the path for development in essentially one way: The future of the Gypsies is identical with the future of Hungarian society; the only possible path for development is social integration.

The other group of publications, primarily those prepared to suit the needs of the moment, remains at the level of sensationalism. These writings are filled with romantic emotionalism and false pathos. Naturally the concern is not to discover the physical and spiritual trials and pains accompanying integration or to show the serious conflicts which sometimes appear between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. Such clashes do accompany this process. (We should write and talk about them more, not less.) A more uniform view and a more effective union are needed in the service of the path of development, in the assimilation of the Gypsies. Naturally this is not a question involving publications alone; indeed, it is not primarily this. The continuing solution of the problem has significant social and economic aspects. But the problem of viewpoint is not secondary, and this is what we are talking about, only about one or two aspects of it.

2.

When we urge the continual social integration of the Gypsies we are not talking about the destruction of some uniform social, ethnic or linguistic community, we are not debating the historic awareness of a community, even less do we desire the forced assimilation of a nationality. None of these is involved because the Gypsies are not a nationality and are not ethnically or linguistically uniform. So there is nothing to destroy. But their style of life must change so that they can live and prosper like other citizens.

From the social point of view the Gypsies are no longer a uniform, closed stratum. Among other things they are not because not every Gypsy or person of Gypsy origin has a low income and not only Gypsies are in the category of low income earners. From the material or earnings point of view the Gypsies are not a social stratum living on the outskirts of our society. Certainly the majority of them are Gypsies living in hovels, but there are also those of Gypsy origin who have high incomes. Their housing situation is even more varied. Between 1965 and 1975 almost 19,000 families moved into new housing or into housing better than their old housing. One third of them no longer live in hovels. (Unfortunately, two thirds of them still do. Obtaining new housing will continue to improve their situation.) An even more significant development took place in the hiring of employable Gypsy males. Before the liberation not even one percent of them had permanent employment. In 1961, 33 percent of them, and in 1971 about 75 percent of them, were working continuously at various jobs. Indeed, almost one third of the Gypsy women of working age are earners. Of course, it is also true that a significant number of those continuously working change jobs frequently, but in addition to this there are many problems involved with their employment (often the fault of non-Gypsies). Although 80 percent of the Gypsies live in villages only a little more than 10 percent of the earners work in agriculture and only 5 percent are members of producer cooperatives. But there are also problems of another sort. The essential thing that cannot be denied, however, is that the Gypsies are no longer a uniform social stratum and that we are witnessing a healthy differentiation. And

this is not a process which began just 1 or 2 years ago! A party document stated 15 years ago: One third of them are already essentially integrated into society, another third are on the road of integration, and one third still live the old life-style. This division is generally still valid today--which means in practice that the number of those integrated has increased but so has the number of those living in hovels. The latter fact is a great problem because it preserves the old style of life. More dwellings are needed. At the same time, the opportunities available could be better used. Prejudices make their integration difficult in employment, in recognition of work, in schooling and in many other respects. There is need for a uniform interpretation of what is to be done.

3.

Some overestimate and some underestimate the number of Gypsies. According to reliable surveys, almost 3 percent of the population of our homeland now is of Gypsy origin. We do not have precise data. In our opinion it will be less and less possible to get reliable data and perhaps it is no longer needed.

(Behind the desire for precise data it is not hard to discover the view which presumes an alleged unity, a compact community.)

Of course, there never were precise data. The data from before the liberation are completely unreliable. A cultural statistics report of the Central Statistics Office titled "The Number and Status of the National Minorities, 1955" published on 6 December 1955 puts the number of Gypsies at roughly 50,000 according to mother tongue. But it makes a distinction between Gypsies according to mother tongue and those of Gypsy origin. The number of the latter is estimated at 100,000 to 120,000.

A 1961 Ministry of Cultural Affairs compilation ("Number and Ratio of Hungarian Gypsies") collected data from every megye. According to this report there were 183,000 Gypsies in Hungary in 1957 and almost 200,000 in 1960. A 20 June 1961 resolution of the Political Committee also begins with this sentence: "About 200,000 Gypsies live in our homeland...."

The Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences carried out a representative survey in 1971. According to this survey, the number of Gypsies living in Hungary in 1971 was 320,000. This figure can be regarded as the standard. A May 1976 report of the Inter-Ministerial Coordinating Committee working with the Council of Ministers accepted this figure and submitted it to the Council of Ministers.

Istvan Kemeny reports on the details of the representative survey in one of the most significant Gypsy studies ("The Gypsy Population of Hungary," VALÓSÁG No 1, 1974). In the course of the survey those were considered as Gypsies who were so regarded by those around them.

But the 320,000 figure still fails to satisfy a group of those dealing with the Gypsy question. There are those who estimate the figure lower and there are those who estimate it a good bit higher. Indeed, the same author refers once to 3 or 4 hundred thousand and then to the sons and daughters of "an ethnic group of half a million."

The problem is certainly caused by the question: Who is a Gypsy? Should we accept the opinion of those around him? Not in every case because, for example, some of those around her so considered the doctor heroine of the television film "And Yet...." The judgment of those in the immediate environs does not always coincide with the higher goals of society, with the desired, forward-looking view. In many places they still consider as Gypsies those who long ago rose out of the traditional, retrograde Gypsy life-style. So it is difficult to speak of precise numbers. What is needed is a significantly more uniform view than the present one, a view resting on a scientific summing up in connection with the entire problem. And we can hardly find a more fitting one than that of Zsolt Csalog, who has prepared the most interest-provoking summary of this theme thus far: "If we accept at the level of journalism, official administration or scientific research the category and concept of Gypsy, then we can hardly find any other justification for it than a realistic but forced transferral in our social awareness of a reflection (and to some extent a false reflection) produced by a complex historical route." (VILAGOSSAG No 1, 1976, p 4).

4.

There is nothing to "destroy" with regard to either ethnic or linguistic unity--for the simple reason that there is no such unity. There is nothing to violate in their historical awareness because they do not have any. Of course, this problem is more complex than their social character or numbers. Nor can we avoid referring in some fashion to their origin and history.

It is surprising how little we know for certain about their past. They have no written history. This is why the various studies about their origin and history are full of such words as "in all probability," "probably," "we can only say that." The Gypsies themselves, and this is very essential, do not preserve an awareness of their origin. Not even an awareness of their common origin! They have no historical memory. The Gypsies know least about where they came from and when. They have no independent name as a people. (Allegedly they were confused more than 1,000 years ago with a people or sect living in what is now Greece called the Athinganos; and this is where the Hungarian word "Cigany" comes from.)

What we know thus far about their history is summed up in a study by Jozsef Vekerdi (ELET ES TUDOMANY, 1969, Vol 24, Issue 31). It was discovered for the first time in the middle 18th Century that the language of the Gypsies was similar to the language of an Indian ethnic group, the Malabar. (It was a Reformed priest named Istvan Valyi from Komarom Megye, a student at

Leiden University, who noticed the similarity on hearing the language of Indian students there.) A hundred years later, linguistic science demonstrated that the so-called Gypsy language was largely identical with the linguistic level spoken in the middle of the first millenium by a people living in Kashmir (or Punjab) and the conclusion seemed obvious: The Gypsies are an Indoeuropean nomad (?) people who many have started 1,200 or 1,500 years ago, in a late migration, from the northern part of what is now India toward Asia Minor and then toward Europe. Vekerdi sums up as reliable: "Their further route can be concluded from the foreign words which entered their language--Persian, Turk, Greek and South Slav loan words can be found in every Gypsy dialect, so the Gypsies traveled through these countries."

Thus they came to the Balkan peninsula. Their stay here, in the Tenth to Fourteenth centuries, was certainly one of the most important chapters in their history. Many place the cradle of their culture here. (Although this seems to be denied by the East Indian motifs which can still be found in their way of thinking, logical sense and forms of behavior). At this time even their language may have been more uniform than today (we are speaking of the Wallachian Gypsies), at least more uniform. Their ethnic, racial and anthropological position was more obvious than it was centuries later. As an historical problem their stay in the Balkan peninsula is interesting and full of questions awaiting clarification because it is very probable that, if they had stayed and conditions had slowly ripened, they might, after several centuries, have started on the road of becoming a nation together with the other peoples of Europe. But this could not happen, primarily because the majority of them first migrated to the northern part of the peninsula and from there began to disperse into the world, chiefly into Europe.

Thus, in the course of their history, centuries ago and for many reasons, it was not given to the Gypsies to start on the road to becoming a nation. The greatest chance to create the initial conditions was perhaps in the Balkan peninsula. Their fate did not develop in this way. It would mean a reversal of the wheels of history if the Gypsies living scattered throughout Europe were to take such a road later. The only possible means for their human happiness is for them to free themselves of their traditional culture and integrate or assimilate into that society or nation in which and where they live.

They appeared in our homeland in the 1400's. They arrived directly from the northern part of the Balkan peninsula via Serbian and Croatia. A significant part of them remained here in the Carpathian basin; a smaller part migrated on into all countries of Europe. These Gypsies who arrived in the first wave and who have lived here for more than 500 years speak Hungarian (and are Hungarian Gypsies) because they have completely forgotten their own language. A second wave reached us in the 19th and 20th centuries. At that time also they left the northern part of the Balkan peninsula. The first group reached our country 500 years ago. The second group traveled across Moldavia into Russia or across Wallachia into Transylvania and thus here, arriving 100 or 150 years ago. The latter probably mixed with Romanians

before reaching the western slope of the Carpathians, Transylvania, Partium, the Great Plain and even Transdanubia. They still speak the Gypsy language (when in what is now Romania they probably lived in closed communities) and they are the so-called Wallachian Gypsies. Romanian Gypsies speaking various dialects of Romanian probably reached us in this manner also. (They probably speak Romanian because while living in Romania they did not live in such closed communities as the former.)

There was a time when the Gypsies were essentially regarded as a nationality. Occasionally one can still find this position, primarily among intellectuals of Gypsy origin. It is impossible to regard the Gypsies as a nationality; for them to develop into a nationality, as we have said, would not be an historical step.

Fundamentally there are two chief criteria of a nationality. On the one hand, there is that which separates them from the majority nation, including a communality of language and culture. It is true, in regard to language, that some of the Gypsies are thus separated from the Hungarians. But it is extraordinarily important that this is true of a small proportion of the Gypsies, about 20-25 percent of them, and in a very differentiated fashion. (We will speak of this later.) On the other hand that which would have bound the Gypsies together ethnically has proved very fragile. (The ethnic ties binding together the Wallachian Gypsies and the Romanian Gypsies are different, as Zsolt Csalog notes in detail in the study previously cited; they are stronger today, but that is another question.) So they are not a nation. They have not proven to be an historically uniform community; they are linguistically heterogeneous, they are dispersed territorially and their level of social integration defines their position in economic life. It is primarily their frame of mind as manifested in their culture and customs in which many common traits can be found (primarily among the Wallachian and Romanian Gypsies) but even from this point of view they are not uniform. There are very many elements in their traditions and customs which are identical with those of people with which they lived in the course of their history. For example, it has been proven about their much debated music and songs (folk music researcher Balint Sarosi has spoken of this most recently) that in essence they imitated that of the peoples with whom they lived or had lived. (This was also the opinion of Bartok and Kodaly, as opposed to Ferenc Liszt.) Virtually nothing original from their ancient homeland, India, can be found among them; the only exception being their alleged way of thinking and some psychological and anthropological characteristics. It is the scientific view that these are the most untouched areas.

5.

The lack of uniformity can be proven unambiguously in the matter of language. We have already mentioned this in touching on their history but it must be especially emphasized. In part this must be done because in some publications, whether intentionally or not, this viewpoint has been forced into the

background; and in part it must be done because the linguistic aspects have the closest possible connection with the teaching of Gypsies of school age. The view has been spreading in various studies and descriptions of experiences that the teaching of Gypsy students is fundamentally a linguistic problem in the sense that, since they speak Gypsy or Romanian, they must first be taught the Hungarian language.

It is true that some of the Gypsy students, the smaller part, are children of families speaking the Gypsy language (the Wallachian Gypsies) or the Romanian language (the Romanian Gypsies) or some dialect. But the majority of them, even the Wallachian and Romanian Gypsies, are bilingual. They speak Hungarian as well as Gypsy or Romanian. Some of them hardly know Hungarian. Zita Reger has conducted linguistic studies among school children of Wallachian Gypsies in Rackeve-Pokolhegy ("Bilingual Gypsy Children Beginning School," VALOSAG, No 1, 1974). The parents speak the Lovar dialect of the Romany language of Indian origin. Children who hardly knew Hungarian could be found among the most isolated, backward group (the Drizarik forest dwellers). In another article (ELET ES TRODALOM, No 39, 25 Sep 76) the author notes that cases in which Hungarian is not spoken "occur only with children coming to school from more closed communities speaking the Gypsy language." Erno Javor, a teacher here, adds that the children refer to things found in the home by Gypsy names but other things, if they know them, they call by Hungarian names. So they are bilingual, if at a rudimentary stage, even here. ("Gypsy Students in School," Text Book Publishers, 1973; edited by Laszlo Szego.) Zita Reger also speaks about the broad scale of bilingualism.

The crux of the matter is that there really are Gypsy students who hardly speak Hungarian or who do not speak Hungarian at all. But the ratios are the decisive thing, and often this is glossed over or completely forgotten.

An exclusively linguistic approach to teaching Gypsy students can lead to errors because about 42,000 to 44,000 of the some 61,000 students of school age do speak Hungarian, as do their parents. These are the ones who migrated here 500 years ago and who have completely forgotten the Gypsy language. The others, the some 12,000 Wallachian Gypsy children and the some 5,000 Romanian Gypsy children (whose ancestors arrived 100 to 150 years ago), are essentially bilingual. One group speaks Hungarian and the other speaks some dialect of the Gypsy or Romanian language.

Thus, for the overwhelming majority, Hungarian is the mother tongue. We must start from this fact in their school instruction. And we also must start from the fact that not even the bilingual Gypsies speak a uniform Gypsy language, because there is no such thing in the sense of the world used in regard to a nation. According to researchers, the vocabulary of those speaking Gypsy averages 1,300 to 1,500 words. This corresponds to the vocabulary of a 3- to 4-year-old child. (This is certainly too few words for Gypsy adults so they "esperantize" Hungarian words.) This is not even to speak



of the fact that the developmental level of their language hardly surpasses the level of 1,000 years ago. As we mentioned earlier, linguists came to these conclusions in the 19th century. In the past 100 years the Gypsy language has not been developed by any internal vital force but rather, like their culture, has been patched together with linguistic elements taken from the peoples around them.

The education and teaching of Gypsy students can only be defined by these circumstances, especially in regard to language instruction. They do not have a "foreign language" problem but rather their level of conceptualization is low as a result of social, cultural, and life-style causes; their vocabulary is extraordinarily impoverished. They live in the most disadvantaged circumstances of those in disadvantaged situations. One can speak of linguistic difficulties in their instruction and education in that they must master information, new words and concepts. The situation is almost the same for the so-called bilingual ones. Grammatically they speak not only Hungarian but also Gypsy badly. So it serves no purpose for the teachers to study Gypsy words and thus to teach them Hungarian. Not only can this method not be employed perfectly, as it could in the case of two developed languages, the ad hoc translations method would not be correct because it would not turn the thinking of the students in a good direction. When we take their bilingualism into consideration in teaching them we must teach them by the same method as the rest--to master information, learn subjects and concepts, and thus develop their Hungarian vocabulary and ability to speak and think. In essence, just as if they did not speak Gypsy whether they are of Gypsy origin or not.

Naturally, solving the problems of practice, given by real life, is a good bit more difficult than this. But this involves not methods of instruction but, rather, merely attitude and view: namely, that only a view aimed at integration can help to solve the problems connected with the Gypsies, and only methods corresponding to this view can be correct in the final analysis. Without going into details here, this is why it is useless to urge the creation of Gypsy language schools. The situation is different with regard to Gypsy classes only in that they are much better than nothing. For it is obvious that the fewer Gypsy classes there are and the more Gypsy students of school age go to school the better their chances are of integration. It is true that a fundamental condition for this is that we prepare them for school, for life in mixed classes, and another fundamental condition is that we provide day schools for them. Where these conditions exist there is no justification, at least in principle, for Gypsy classes.

6.

No matter from what side we approach the theme, we can discover at every step that one of the primary conditions for forming a correct view is the reliability of information--and this means summing up the parts of research results. But it is hardly correct to urge "institutionalized" Gypsy research

for this reason, to joint the work of some Western Gypsy federations. (An international Gypsy research institute has allegedly operated in England since 1888.)

Our position is to aid social integration, so we do not approach the question on racial grounds and we do not seek that which divides but rather that which binds together or could bind together. So we cannot agree with the aspirations of some intellectuals of Gypsy origin who urge the development of the Gypsy language (and the creation of Gypsy schools) and who would like Gypsy newspaper, Gypsy theater and a Gypsy federation. This is why we have reservations about Gypsy plans, Gypsy-language poetry and Gypsy clubs. They are striving to create a unity the conditions for which have been wasted, disordered and destroyed by life; to put it mildly, their behavior is not historical. For this reason the attempts of the Western federations to demand so-called "unique" Gypsy interests, "independence" and rights are diametrically opposed to our principles. We should know more about the Gypsies than we do today, not to strengthen some sort of unity or some developing nationalism but, on the contrary, so that we can fulfill the chief wish of the Gypsies, to become of equal human and social rank. We really should make research more comprehensive but only for this reason and not for any other. It is from this that we must start in encouraging their culture and traditions and in no case should we give up--for a curiosity--our socialist principles.

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## HUNGARY

### FILM DIRECTOR ELABORATES ON HIS STUDY ON NATURE OF COERCION

Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 26 Dec 76 p 10

[Interview with film director Zoltan Fabri by Gyorgy Fenyves: "The Chief Theme Is the Natural History of Violence"]

[Text] He was born in Budapest on 15 October 1917. He graduated from secondary school in 1935. He was preparing to become an artist; he graduated from the Graphic Arts Academy and then enrolled in the Theater Arts Academy. Between 1941 and 1944 he was a member of the National Theater in Budapest, as actor, director and designer. In 1945 he signed up with the Comedy Theater in Budapest. Between 1946 and 1948 he was director and designer for the Artists' Theater company. For the 1948-49 season he returned to the National Theater and in 1949-50 he was named director of the newly formed Pioneer Theater. In the summer of 1950 he was named artistic leader for the nationalized film industry. Two years later, in 1952, he directed his first feature film. Since then he has been primarily a film director but sometimes, even today, he does design work for various Budapest, and occasionally provincial, theaters. He is a two-time Kossuth Prize winner, an outstanding artist, since 1957 president of the Federation of Hungarian Film Artists and for 5 years president of the Federation of Hungarian Film and TV Artists.

[Question] You are known at home and even abroad as one of the most successful directors of Hungarian films. You are known as an artist who always works at your own, very high, standard, whose every creation is able to win the recognition of the international film world. So I would like to ask: What, in your opinion, was your greatest failure thus far?

[Answer] That is an unusual opening question for an interview but it certainly cuts to the quick. I don't even have to think to answer; it was my film titled "Crazy April" (Bolond Aprilis). This was my first work after the 1956 counter-revolution. It was prepared in a bit of a hurry, in a flurry. The purpose was to begin creative work again as soon as possible. From the viewpoint of both social message and artistic quality "Crazy April" was an excursion into a lighter style. Do not misunderstand me, I am not ashamed of

this film and I do not reject it; but perhaps I feel that it was the least "Fabri film" and if you asked me to prepare a retrospective program of my works I would always leave this one out. There is another one of my films which I like very much, like a mother loves the child who is the most trouble, but the domestic reception of which was most harsh and which was rejected by some of the critics and public. This was "Late Season" (Utoszezson). This is surprising to me because the film was successful abroad at the time and won four prizes at the Venice Biennial. I still like "Late Season" very much and am happy with its social analysis and formal solution. Why it was not accepted and understood here at home I do not know.

[Question] Can we say that the Fabri films are basically literary films?

[Answer] Certainly the majority of my films were based on some literary work or made from some literary work. I am always looking for literary material which fits what I have to say, which provides a foundation for further thought. And what is the message on which I would like to think further? The chief theme is the natural history of violence or coercion. It is almost a monomania for me to try to outline the various manifestations of violence and thus the social situation of man. But with violence or coercion I am concerned primarily with the epoch, method and mechanism of fascism. My heroes usually live in an age of great trials. They try to survive these trials. And this has serious consequences. Sometimes they must fall defending their own lives as, for example, in the lead characters "Mr Professor Hannibal" (Hannibal tanar ur) and "Late Season." In a narrower or broader sense I try to approach the essence of the origin, development and domination of fascism, the essence of a "strong period." My most recent film, "The Fifth Seal" (Otodik pecset), also deals with this. So why do I use literary material for this? Because it is not only I who was a contemporary, who was a witness. And this is why I cannot say that my films are autobiographical. They are not. I like to illumine the events from various sides through the eyes of those who lived through the history. I collect life and literary material for this. On the other hand, I have never filmed a literary work as an adaptation. I supplement the action or carry it further, transposing it into another art form, making it speak in another dimension--and this offers not only the joy of creation but also that of the play.

[Question] You entered the film studio a quarter-century ago and have been directing films for 23 years. What sort of artistic journey have you made in this time?

[Answer] My life has been defined by the fact that I spent 9-10 years in the world of the theater. I joined the film studio in 1950, first as artistic leader. I directed my first film 2 years later. These first films were born as part of the struggle against schematism. I recognized, perhaps earlier than others, what critical observations had already defined, if carefully, that our art was schematic. My first production, "Storm" (Vihar), itself carries the signs of schematism nevertheless. Fortunately, however,

my next films such as "Signs of Life" (Eletjel) and especially "Carousel" (Korhinta), were born in a time when conditions had greatly changed on the basis of certain historical recognitions and the lessons of the 20th congress of the CPSU. The realization of an original artistic program took place amid freer circumstances. My film "Mr Professor Hannibal" was born in this atmosphere. And then the 1956 counterrevolution broke out. For a moment the fronts were confused; 1956 did not disappear without a trace. The shadows dispersed only slowly. I filmed "Sweet Anna" (Edes Anna) and "Two Half-Times in Hell" (Ket felido a pokolban). These two films moved between the poles of acceptance and rejection. Both worked within a simpler polarization than my recent works, more precisely those prepared in the last years. The conflict of both showed this too. Life in the period after 1956 could be formulated only in basic conflicts. Since then life has become more complex. The events taking place in the world around us are also more complex and, if you please, contain more multiplex and more dramatic threats. The laws of life take shape on the basis of much more complex laws than we actually believed. In the past we imagined all this more simply.

[Question] What explains this apparent contradiction: As you progress on an ever more complex path toward the discovery of interdependencies your creative style becomes purer and more simple?

[Answer] I seek the tangled system of contradictions through the complex interdependencies of actually simple thoughts. I like precise thoughts which sometimes demand more simple modes of expression. I can make the more complex transparent if I simplify the forms. But my forms are not always so simple. The thought world of some of my works requires complex formal realization. I am thinking of my films which work with a temporal decomposition structure, "Late Season" and the films titled "141 Minutes" (141 perc) and "From an Unfinished Sentence" (Befejezetlen mondatbol), or the earlier "Darkness in the Daytime" (Nappali sotetseg). The theme of these demanded that I seek and find a different form of film language than in my earlier works.

I cannot imagine any demanding work which can express demanding content without demanding form. The one without the other is crippled and limping. I consider the unity of form and content a demand which is to be understood in the Hegelian sense, in the Marxist further development and with the explanation of Gyorgy Lukacs. If we select a very demanding substantive message then we are simply forced to select a form in which it will fit. Especially with the fixed length and severely fixed projection time of a film. I believe in film as a form of mass art. If, in the final analysis, a film is very complex then the goal always is that there be many who can follow the formal realization. This is a question of orchestration. But I am not a partisan of films which can be experienced without thought. I am convinced that if a quality work prompts the viewer to think later about what he has seen, then the film is good and in the final analysis truly "moving." I do not like fuss. I always seek a form of expression which is the most

adequate expression of the substantive complex involved. I use it so that the message will be maximally understandable compared to its difficulty. This is probably how the impression has been given that I have become "more simple."

[Question] This sounds like a disguised confession.

[Answer] Yes, I must admit that. But a man is bound by his own artistic program and maintains the artistic level previously achieved; he cannot go and does not want to go below that. Life has always inspired me to speak about what is terribly important, what is not easy, what is painful. I try to speak about this in such a way that everyone can understand it if he wants to. It would be in vain for me to want to speak to someone who does not want to understand, who is not suited, not inclined or not capable of accepting such a message. The message of the age about which I would like to speak is, I feel, an extraordinarily important message and I am doing everything so that he who has good intentions to receive this message will receive it. Finally, it is not for the artist to descend to the viewer, rather the viewer, with the help of the artist, must ascend to a certain level of art.

[Question] How is it that you, who on the stage directed comedies, prefer dramas in films?

[Answer] My view of life and my experience of life have carried me from the world of comedies and inspired me to interpret a different message. I am not a believer in film of comedy, of provoking laughter, but rather, to speak of a form differing from the dramatic, of the grotesque. Twenty years ago, "Mr Professor Hannibal" was my first work in which the grotesque appeared in the tragic. This returned again and again later. In my "Two Half-Times in Hell" and in "The Fifth Seal" also.

[Question] Please tell us something about "The Fifth Seal."

[Answer] This was made from a work by Ferenc Santa, who also wrote "Twenty Hours" (Husz ora). The story appeared in 1963, a year before "Twenty Hours," and the idea of filming it occupied me thereafter. In this also I find the natural history of fascism. But it is a less discussed side of it, the creation of the living dead. Fascism had a way of creating men who were dead spiritually and in regard to will but who still lived and worked. "The Fifth Seal" takes place in Budapest after the German occupation of 1944. It is about little people. Four of them. All of them would like to hide in order to save themselves. They would like to avoid the tragic events of the times. Naturally this does not succeed. Three of the four express the belief that a man must do anything to remain alive. And yet they do not do this "anything" when faced with a choice. Because, in the moment of choice, a certain ethic rules their behavior and their choosing. To put it another way, when tested by fascism, men instinctively want to save themselves. And

to do this they invent a petty, ad hoc philosophy to reassure themselves. This happens with the heroes of "The Fifth Seal" too. But life creates situations such that they must rise above this petty philosophy. They must know how to fall. Meanwhile, the fourth, the most active of them, does the impossible, only so that he can remain alive, because much remains to be done in the world which will surely continue. This, more or less, is the story.

[Question] How does Zoltan Fabri, who has been recognized by the film world, view international film life? What are the chief directions of film art today?

[Answer] This is the question which I am least able to answer today. I am convinced that film art today is in a unique, difficult period of its development. It is in a crisis. There are many signs of this. The struggle for a public is one of them. This is not contradicted by the fact that in American, for the time being, the number of viewers is increasing and has even reached a new peak. There is no doubt that the American economy is in a recession. The number of moviegoers has always increased in periods of crisis, beginning with the great economic crisis of 1929-30. I do not know precisely, but I suspect that something similar is happening now.

[Question] We can read in Western papers that film today is progressing toward self-liberation.

[Answer] I do not think this is a statement of fact, rather it is an ideology to explain a situation. For, while we can certainly recognize certain "self-liberating" tendencies such as horror, pornography, sado-masochism and others, I cannot agree with this formulation. I would formulate my own modest suspicion as follows: It has been proven historically that one can always find exactly the same tendencies, in forms corresponding to the possibilities and spirit of the age, in the culture of every age which is in the process of disappearing. An increase in libertinism has been characteristic of the last phase of every system--Egypt, Athens, Rome. Such changes in public thinking have been symptoms or compensations for a certain feeling of danger, suspicion or bad general feeling. I am convinced that something similar is happening today in the leading Western capitalist countries. The progress toward a dead end, the seeming impossibility of avoiding danger--this is the tragic feeling which seeks an escape for the changing awareness in libertine trends. I do not believe, however, that this is a way out. But I do believe in an art of commitment--indeed, this is the only thing I believe in--and I cannot accept the idea that the road of man leads toward the man of instincts and toward nihilism. I have lived now for 60 years in the invincible faith that faith in man and in mankind is justified.

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HUNGARY

COMMENTARY DECRIES PREDICTION OF 'A YEAR OF CONFLICT'

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jan 77 p 2

[Commentary by Istvan Pinter: "What's Bugging Klaus Schuetz?"]

[Text] Klaus Schuetz has announced that he is expecting 1977 to be "a year of conflict about Berlin." At other times the mayor of West Berlin has referred to West Berlin as Berlin, while Berlin, the capital of the GDR, has been called "East Berlin." In this case he meant both East Berlin, capital of the GDR, and West Berlin in speaking of Berlin. He explained that the GDR had initiated measures "which threaten the four-power status of the city."

What actually displeases Schuetz is that as of the first of January foreign residents of West Berlin (this does not affect citizens of the FRG and residents of West Berlin) must apply for visas and fill out customs declarations when visiting the capital of East Germany. The regulation has terminated the more lenient treatment of certain categories, because many abused their opportunities; they harmed the economy of the GDR with their foreign exchange and buying manipulations. Publication of the bulletin of the Berlin magistracy in which laws and decrees of the GDR had been published up to now has been discontinued as redundant. Since they appear in the official paper of the GDR, they are valid for Berlin in any case, if for no other reason than that the constitution of the GDR applies to the entire country; there has never been anything in it about any kind of special status for Berlin.

One need only to look at a map to see that West Berlin is in the middle of the GDR, and Berlin is an organic part of the country. Therefore, the four-power agreement signed on 3 September 1971 does not and cannot contain a single provision pertaining to Berlin. The agreement pertains solely to the special status of West Berlin. It is true that the agreement made no mention of the divergent legal views of the parties. But the awareness of the Western signatory powers of the situation is proved by the fact that U.S., Britain and France have established embassies in the capital of East Germany, Berlin, in the meantime. The indications are that Klaus Schuetz would like 1977 to be a year of confrontation rather than one of continuing detente. No doubt he is not alone in this. But, fortunately, even in his own camp there are many more persons who prefer to iron out differences of opinion at the



conference table rather than in the trenches. Those who predict that 1977 will be "a year of clashes" would be well advised, perhaps, to make a more thorough study of the agreements on West Berlin as well as of the map.

Berlin, 22 Jan 1977

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END